

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 01408 01 OF 03 171431Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /068 W
-----030925 171515Z /43

P R 171403Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4340
INFO AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
ALL EC CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 01408

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, IT, FR
SUBJ: U.S. STATEMENT ON ITALY

1. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL: QUOTED BELOW ARE THE
SIGNIFICANT PORTIONS OF PUBLIC REACTIONS TO THE
DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT ON COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 01408 01 OF 03 171431Z

WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF
THE MODERATE REACTION OF THE QUAI D'ORSAY, THE
RATHER GENERAL ALLUSION BY GISCARD D'ESTAING TO
NON-INTERFERENCE IN FRENCH INTERNAL POLITICS AND
THE SUPPORTIVE STATEMENT BY CENTRIST LEADER JEAN
LECANUET, ALL OTHER REACTIONS, ON BOTH SIDES OF THE
POLITICAL SPECTRUM, HAVE BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY NEGATIVE.

THE FRENCH REACTION IS PARTLY EXPLAINABLE, FIRST, BY THE ELECTORAL SEASON HERE WHERE NO PARTY OR LEADER CAN AFFORD TO BE IN A POSITION OF APPEARING TO SUPPORT A US STATEMENT THAT CAN BE CALLED INTERFERENCE. SECOND, THE FRENCH CANNOT APPEAR TO ADMIT THAT WHAT HAPPENS IN ITALY IS SERIOUS AND COULD AFFECT THEM. WE ARE OPERATING ON THE SECOND ASSUMPTION BY TRYING TO CONVINCE PEOPLE THIS IS SERIOUS (NOT USUAL CRY OF WOLF) AND THAT FRENCH COMPLACENCY PARTICULARLY ON THE PART OF THE MAJORITY IS SHORTSIGHTED IN VIEW OF THEIR OWN VIEWS ABOUT LEFT VICTORY AND COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN A GOVERNMENT HERE. WE WOULD BE GREATLY ASSISTED IN THIS TASK IF WE HAD AN AUTHORITATIVE AND DETAILED WASHINGTON ASSESSMENT OF WHAT IS HAPPENING IN ITALY.

2. THEY VARY IN CHARACTERIZING THE STATEMENT FROM "MALADROIT" TO THE MORE USUAL "INTOLERABLE INTERFERENCE." TAKEN TOGETHER, WE WOULD JUDGE THE REACTIONS AS EVEN STRONGER THIS TIME THAN TWO YEARS AGO, AT THE TIME OF STATEMENTS BY GENERAL HAIG AND SECRETARY KISSINGER ON COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. AT THAT TIME, VARIOUS GOF LEADERS, WHILE NOT SUPPORTING US PUBLICLY, FOUND OUR POSITION HELPFUL PRIVATELY IN SENSITIZING THE CONFIDENTIAL MAFVVZCZ

ADP421
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 01408 02 OF 03 171433Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /068 W
-----030943 171515Z /43

P R 171403Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4341
INFO AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
ALL EC CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 01408

TO HIS SUPPORT OF THE U.S. STATEMENT. RPR PRESIDENT
JACQUES CHIRAC HAS CURIOUSLY REMAINED SILENT. PERHAPS
PREOCCUPIED BY THE DETERIORATED SITUATION IN THE
MAJORITY, HE HAS MORE LIKELY DECIDED HE DOES NOT NEED
TO ESTABLISH HIS PATRIOTIC OR ANTI-COMMUNIST
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 01408 02 OF 03 171433Z

CREDENTIALS AND INDEED MAY EVEN BE HAPPY THAT THIS
SORT OF "INTERFERENCE" MAY WORK AGAINST MITTERRAND.

4. INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WERE ALSO AT THE
HEART OF THE THINKING IN THE LEFT. THE PCF WAS THE
FIRST OFF THE MARK OF ALL THE PARTIES, NOT ONLY TO
CONDEMN THE STATEMENT BUT TO BRAND PRESIDENT CARTER'S
MEETING WITH GISCARD AND MITTERRAND AS THE U.S. STAMP
OF APPROVAL FOR THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS. THE SOCIALIST
PARTY, VISIBLY EMBARRASSED BY THE PCF ATTACK AND THE
CONNECTION DRAWN BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT'S STATEMENT
AND THE CARTER/MITTERRAND MEETING, RUSHED TO ITS OWN
DEFENSE IN AN OFFICIAL DECLARATION WHICH CALLED THE
U.S. STATEMENT "REGRETTABLE INTERFERENCE" AND SAID
THAT THE PS HAS FOR A LONG TIME ADVOCATED A GOVERNMENT
OF THE UNION OF THE LEFT AND THAT IT STILL HOLDS TO
THAT POSITION. MITTERRAND ADDED THAT WITH RESPECT TO
THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, HE, MITTERRAND, DID NOT
SOLICIT IT AND FURTHER THAT THE SUBJECT OF THE COMMU-
NISTS' ROLE IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT DID NOT FIGURE IN THE
DISCUSSION.

5. THERE FOLLOW THE KEY PORTIONS OF STATEMENTS REFERRED
TO ABOVE. IT WILL BE SEEN FROM THEIR NUMBER AND PROVOCA-
TIVENESS THAT THIS SUBJECT HAS BEEN THE DOMINANT STORY
IN THE MEDIA OVER THE WEEKEND. THEY ALSO SHOW THAT GIVEN
THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS WHICH WILL TAKE PLACE IN LESS
THAN TWO MONTHS, THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO REACT TO THIS
QUESTION IN TERMS OF THE CONSEQUENCES IN THEIR OWN COUN-
TRY WHILE DEVELOPMENTS IN ITALY ITSELF, ALSO REPORTED IN
SOME DETAIL, HAVE TAKEN A SECOND PLACE. WE HAVE NOTED
THIS COMPLACENCY TO THE FRENCH, MOST RECENTLY ON JANUARY
16 WHEN THE AMBASSADOR SAW COUVE DE MURVILLE, AND HAVE
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 01408 02 OF 03 171433Z

DRAWN THEIR ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE SITUATION IN ITALY. WHILE WE HOPE THE GOF WILL BE APPLYING MORE POSITIVE THOUGHT TO THE PROBLEM (AND WILL BE MAKING CONTINUED EFFORTS TO OFFSET FRENCH CRITICISM), COUVE'S RESPONSE THAT A CRISIS IS INEVITABLE IN ITALY AND THAT OUR STATEMENT HAS ONLY GAINED A LITTLE TIME AT BEST IS PROBABLY THE MORE TYPICAL REACTION IN FRANCE. END CONFIDENTIAL.

6. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED:

--QUAI D'ORSAY: THE AMERICAN DECLARATION CLEARLY RECOGNIZES THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE COUNTRIES IN QUESTION; IT IS NOT ABNORMAL THAT THE U.S., AS AN ALLY, GIVES AN OPINION ON THIS QUESTION; DURING HIS STAY IN FRANCE, PRESIDENT CARTER ABSTAINED FROM ANY PUBLIC DECLARATION ON THIS SUBJECT; THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS NOTHING TO SAY ("NE SE PRONONCE PAS") ON THE INTERNAL ITALIAN SITUATION.

--GISCARD D'ESTAING: I HAVE MADE ONE RULE FOR MYSELF. THAT IS NEVER TO ACCEPT FROM ANYONE -- I MEAN ANYONE -- INTERFERENCE IN FRENCH POLITICAL LIFE. I WILL NEVER ACCEPT THAT FOREIGN INTERVENTIONS COME TO WEIGH ON THE QUESTIONS OR THE DECISIONS WHICH ARE THE EXCLUSIVE COMPETENCE OF THE FRENCH.

--PRIME MINISTER BARRE: THE DECLARATIONS WERE MALADROIT. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT DISCUSS INTERNAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS WITH ANY OTHER FOREIGN GOVERNMENT; IT DOES NOT GIVE ADVICE TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY CONCERNING ITS INTERNAL POLITICS; IT DOES NOT LIKE TO RECEIVE ADVICE CONCERNING THE POLICY IT FOLLOWS. FRANCE FOLLOWS AN INDEPENDENT POLICY. ITS PEOPLE ARE DEMOCRATIC AND THEY MAKE THEIR CHOICES FREELY. FRANCE TRIES TO PLACE HERSELF IN A POSITION WHERE SHE DOES NOT RECEIVE ADVICE AND WHERE SHE NEED NOT SUBMIT TO PRESSURES.

CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PARIS 01408 02 OF 03 171433Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 01408 03 OF 03 171500Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /068 W
-----031162 171515Z /44

P R 171403Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4342
INFO AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
ALL EC CAPITALS
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 01408

--MICHEL PONIATOWSKI: EACH COUNTRY IS RICH IN ITS
PERSONALITY. IT IS PROFOUNDLY SHOCKING TO SEE ANOTHER
COUNTRY EXERCISE PRESSURE ON THIS PERSONALITY. IT IS
AN INADMISSIBLE INTERFERENCE, ESPECIALLY COMING FROM
ANOTHER CONTINENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 01408 03 OF 03 171500Z

--EDGAR FAURE: WHAT IS SHOCKING IS NOT THAT
MR. CARTER SAYS THAT HE WANTS TO COLLABORATE WITH ONE
GOVERNMENT OR ANOTHER, BUT RATHER THE WAY IN WHICH HE
ANNOUNCES IN ADVANCE THE CONSEQUENCES THAT HE WOULD
DRAW FROM ONE SITUATION OR ANOTHER. HE GIVES THE
IMPRESSION OF PRESSURE. THAT SHOCKS US. A PEOPLE
SHOULD DECIDE FREELY. IT IS NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH
OUR OWN CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY.

--COUVE DE MURVILLE: VERY SHOCKED BY THE AMERICAN POSITION. IT IS THE FIRST TIME, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THAT THE U.S. INTERVENES IN SUCH A DIRECT WAY IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF A GREAT COUNTRY IN WESTERN EUROPE. IN ADDITION, I DO NOT SEE VERY WELL WHAT PURPOSE IS SERVED.

--JEAN LECANUET: THE STATEMENT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE PRESSURE, RATHER INFORMATION. I CONSIDER IT COMPLETELY NORMAL THAT THE U.S., WHEN QUESTIONED, ANNOUNCES THAT THE SITUATION TOMORROW WOULD BE VERY DIFFERENT THAN TODAY, IF THE COMMUNISTS WERE IN POWER IN COUNTRIES IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

--CDS VICE PRESIDENT BERNARD STASI: IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE ENTRY OF COMMUNIST MINISTERS IN THE GOVERNMENT WOULD CREATE SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. BUT THE FRENCH PEOPLE ARE SUFFICIENTLY ADULT TO REFLECT ON THIS ALONE, AND THEY DO NOT MUCH LIKE FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, EVEN IF THEY ARE FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS, GIVING THEM ADVICE. I AM CERTAIN THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE, ATTACHED AS THEY ARE TO THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND TO AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP, HAVE BEEN SHOCKED BY THE DECLARATION AND SAW IT AS AN INADMISSIBLE AND UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTRY.

-- FORMER FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MICHEL JOBERT: THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 01408 03 OF 03 171500Z

AMERICAN ATTITUDE HAS NOT CHANGED BASICALLY SINCE 1945, THAT IS SINCE YALTA. AMERICANS HAVE THEIR POLICY, AND I DO NOT BEGRUDGE THEM. BUT WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS TO KNOW THAT WE, THE FRENCH WANT AND WHETHER THERE IS TO BE A PARTICULARLY FRENCH POLICY.

--THE PS: THE PARTY OBJECTS TO THE INTERVENTIONS OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES, BECAUSE THEY CONSTITUTE REGRETTABLE INTERFERENCE. FRANCOIS MITTERRAND HAS ADVOCATED FOR A LONG TIME THE COMPOSITION IN FRANCE OF A UNION OF THE LEFT GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING COMMUNISTS. THIS POSITION IS MAINTAINED AND IT REMAINS THE ONLY WORKING ASSUMPTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN THE CASE OF A LEFT VICTORY IN MARCH.

--FRANCOIS MITTERRAND: THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. WISHES TO WEIGH IN ON THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF SOME COUNTRIES. WE SOCIALISTS SAY THAT THIS IS INADMISSIBLE INTERFERENCE AND WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT IT WITH RESPECT TO FRANCE.

--PCF: AN EVENT OF GREAT SERIOUSNESS HAS JUST TAKEN PLACE. IN OFFICIALLY TAKING A POSITION AGAINST THE PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNISTS IN GOVERNMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS TAKEN UPON ITSELF

AN INADMISSIBLE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL FRENCH AFFAIRS.
THE RECENT VISIT OF PRESIDENT CARTER IN OUR COUNTRY
TAKES ON ITS REAL MEANING. HE CAME HERE TO GIVE HIS
SUPPORT TO GISCARD AND ALSO TO FRANCOIS MITTERRAND.

--PCF LEADER GEORGES MARCHAIS: IT IS GISCARD AND
UNFORTUNATELY ALSO FRANCOIS MITTERRAND WHO DISCUSS WITH
THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. WHO PARTICIPATES IN GOVERN-
MENT IN FRANCE AND WHO SHOULD BE EXCLUDED. PRESIDENT
CARTER SAYS, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FRENCH ELECTORAL
BATTLE: GISCARD IS A GOOD DEMOCRAT AND MITTERRAND
PLAYS A BENEFICIAL ROLE, BUT I DO NOT LIKE THE
COMMUNISTS. BUT THE FRENCH ARE MASTERS IN THEIR OWN
COUNTRY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PARIS 01408 03 OF 03 171500Z

--RADICAL SOCIALIST LEADER ROBERT FABRE: THE U.S.
GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN A POSITION WHICH I DEPLORE. BUT I
ALSO DEPLORE THE MORE SUBTLE INTERFERENCE OF THE SOVIET
AMBASSADOR IN FAVOR OF GISCARD DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTIONS. END UNCLASSIFIED.

HARTMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PUBLIC ATTITUDES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, COMMUNISTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 17 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PARIS01408
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780024-1152
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780155/aaaabugm.tel
Line Count: 357
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9ccccfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3762734
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S. STATEMENT ON ITALY
TAGS: PEPR, PINT, IT, FR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbs://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9ccccfe2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014